

*Proceedings of the Twenty-Sixth Meeting of the
Austronesian Formal Linguistics Association (AFLA)*

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(ed.)



AFLA XXVI
The Twenty-Sixth Meeting of the
Austronesian Formal Linguistics Association

University of Western Ontario
May 24-26, 2019

TSOU EXCLAMATIVES IN COMPARATIVE SYNTAX

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Academia Sinica

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PREFACE

The 26th Annual Meeting of the Austronesian Formal Linguistics Association (AFLA 26) was held on May 24-26, 2019 at the University of Western Ontario (Canada). The programme consisted of 24 presentations in addition to four plenary talks by Juliette Blevins, Vera Hohaus, Marian Klamer and Becky Tollan. This volume includes 13 papers from the conference.

As conference organizer, I received generous support from a variety of sources. Financial support came from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC), Research Western, the Joint Fund (Research Western, SOGS, SGPS), the Theoretical and Applied Linguistics Lab, the Canadian Linguistic Association, the Faculty of Arts and Humanities, the Graduate Program in Linguistics and three departments (French Studies, Modern Languages and Literatures, and Anthropology). The conference would not have been possible without the student volunteers (Sonia Masi, William Tran, Caylen Walker and Kang Xu), plus several others who helped out at the registration desk. Finally, I am grateful to the Department of French Studies for administrative support.

Many thanks to the abstract reviewers, to all those who attended, and to Mitcho Erlewine, who helped develop the current stylesheet.

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TSOU EXCLAMATIVES IN COMPARATIVE SYNTAX¹

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This paper investigates Tsou exclamatives from a perspective of comparative syntax. It is found that (i) unlike European languages, Tsou exclamatives are not led by *wh*-phrases; (ii) unlike Malagasy, Tsou exclamatives do not undergo nominalization exclusively; (iii) unlike English, Tsou exclamatives cannot be embedded under a factive predicate; (iv) Tsou exclamatives are characterized by a set of special mood particles which indicate the speaker's attitude and emotion; (v) like Chinese and English, Tsou exclamatives involve scalar focus. It is proposed that Tsou exclamatives constitute the maximal clausal projection of a Speech Act Phrase (SAP) and realize their sentential force in [Spec, SAP]. This accounts for the Main Clause Phenomenon (MCP) effects associated with Tsou exclamatives.

Keywords: exclamative, Tsou, sentential force, Speech Act Phrase, Main Clause Phenomenon, scalar focus.

1. Introduction

This paper investigates exclamative constructions in Tsou from a perspective of comparative syntax. On the empirical level, we first identify Tsou exclamatives in light of three well-cited criteria developed by Zanuttini and Portner (2003), namely, (i) factivity, (ii) scalar implicature, (iii) inability to function in question/answer pairs. On the analytical level, we evaluate approaches to exclamatives. On the theoretical level, we check Tsou exclamatives against those in Malagasy and see whether exclamative force is exclusively situated in the DP (cf. Potsdam 2011). This study is expected to shed new lights on the typology and theory of exclamatives.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 gives a grammatical sketch of Tsou,

¹ An earlier version of this paper was presented at 2019 annual meeting of the Austronesian Formal Association (i.e., AFLA 26) at the University of Western Ontario, London, Canada, and the Linguistics Colloquium at the Institute of Linguistics at Academia Sinica. I am grateful to the audience at these two occasions, in particular, to Lisa Travis and Eric Potsdam. I would also like to thank my research assistants Maochang Ku and Lushan Huang for their typographical assistance. The financial support from the Taiwan Ministry of Science and Technology and Academia Sinica is acknowledged as well. The usual disclaimer applies.

paving the way for the subsequent discussion. Section 3 surveys the previous studies on exclamation, focusing on the criteria for identifying genuine exclamation developed by Zanutini & Portner (2003) and the cross-linguistic literature applying those criteria. Section 4 identifies Tsou exclamation in light of Zanutini & Portner’s criteria and explores their syntactic properties and representations. Two types of exclamation are distinguished in Tsou, namely, simple and complex exclamation, with the latter type led by a set of special exclamation particles. Section 5 compares Tsou exclamation with those in European and Sinitic languages and deals with the theoretical and typological implications of this study. Section 6 concludes the paper.

2. A Grammatical Sketch

Tsou is a VOS language. A lexical verb typically precedes its arguments/adjuncts and receives marking of grammatical transitivity. Every sentence almost always begins with an auxiliary that indicates the temporal or modal dimension of the sentence; in its realis category, the auxiliary additionally makes a two-way grammatical distinction of transitivity, in a dichotomous transitivity agreement with the main verb. The temporal and modal auxiliary system of the language is summarized in Table 1 below:

Table 1: *The temporal/modal auxiliary in Tsou* (based on Chang & Pan 2016)

Reality Proximity	Realis		Irrealis	
	INTR	TR	General	Counterfactual
Proximate	mi-, mo	i-, os-	te, ta-	nte
Remote	moh, moso	oh-	tena	nto, ntoh-

For example:

(1) Verb-initial in Tsou (Chang 2019)

- a. 'a mo- 'u uh-ne maibayx nehucma.
 AFF RL.INTR-1S.ABS get.to-OBL Chiayi yesterday
 'I did go to Chiayi yesterday.'
- b. 'a te- 'o uh-ne maibayx hohucma.
 AFF IRR-1S.ABS get.to-OBL Chiayi tomorrow
 'I WILL go to Chiayi tomorrow.'

In Tsou, every argument is usually preceded by a case marker which indicates the speaker’s knowledge of the argument. In this sense, case markers can be treated as indicators of evidentiality in Tsou.

Table 2: *Non-propositional evidential case markers in Tsou* (Based on Pan 2018)

	Absolutive	Oblique	Genitive
Visual	'e (near), si (intermediate), ta (remote)	ta	ta
Non-visual	co	nca	—
Experiential	'o	to	to
Non-experiential	na	no	no

Compare:

(2) Case markers as evidential markers (Chang & Cheng 2010)

- a. *moso la nana atfxngx mo-asee no oko na meefucu*
 REAL HAB reportedly intentionally take-stealthily OBL child ABS dwarf
 'It was said that the dwarf would take away children stealthily.'
- b. *mo mo-asee ta peisu si oko.*
 RL take-sealthily OBL money ABS child
 'That child is stealing the money.'

With the background information in mind, let's move on to the main theme of this paper.

3. Literature Review And Criteria For Identifying Exclamatives

Based on Elliot (1973), Grimshaw (1979), and the like, Zanuttini and Portner (2003) develop three criteria for identifying true exclamatives. Targeting the factivity restriction underlying exclamatives, the first criterion is concerned with the fact that an exclamative can be embedded under a factive predicate and the fact that it cannot be embedded under a non-factive predicate. Consider:

(3) Factivity (Zanuttini & Portner 2003: 46)

- a. *Mary knows how very cute he is.* (factive)
 b. **Mary wonders how very cute he is.* (non-factive)

In addition, Zanuttini and Portner (2003) point out that a true exclamative is associated with a scalar implicature, which can be verified by a concessive utterance following it. Compare:

(4) Scalar implicature (Zanuttini & Portner 2003: 47)

- a. *How very cute he is!*—#though he's not extremely cute. (exclamative)
- b. *He's quite cute!*—though not extremely cute. (exclamation)

Furthermore, Zanuttini and Portner (2003) note that unlike a question, a true exclamative cannot be substantially answered. Compare:

(5) Unable to function as a question (Zanuttini & Portner 2003: 47)

- a. Q: *How tall is he?*
A: *Seven feet.*
- b. Q: *How very tall he is!*
A: #*Seven feet.*

Neither can a true exclamative occur as an answer, as opposed to a declarative. For example, the exclamative sentence *How very tall he is* in (6) cannot appear as an answer to the question *How tall is he*.

(6) Unable to function as an answer (Zanuttini & Portner 2003: 48)

- Q: *How tall is Tony's child?*
- A: #*How very tall he is!*

Zanuttini & Portner's criteria turn out to be quite successful, with a wide-range application to different languages across the world. Potsdam (2011) makes his application to Malagasy, Baden & Cheng (2015) to Mandarin Chinese. Upon her application, Yang (2017) observes that the criterion of exclamative embeddability under a factive predicate does not work out for Mandarin Chinese.

(7) Unable to embed under factive predicate in Mandarin Chinese (Yang 2017: 27)

李四 知道 張三 { *多麼 / *好 / #這麼 } 高 啊!

Lǐsì zhīdào Zhāngsān { *duōme / *hǎo / #zhème } gāo a!

Lisi know Zhangsan how / so / this tall SFP

'Lisi knows how very tall Zhangsan is.'

Following Tsai (2016) and Baden and Cheng (2015), she proposes an alternative test:

(8) Factivity (Yang 2017: 30; Tsai 2016; Badan & Cheng 2015)

- a. *張三 {顯然 / 據說} {多(麼) / 好 / 這麼} 有錢 啊!
 *Zhāngsān {xiǎnrán/ jùshuō} {duō(me) / hǎo / zhème} yǒuqián a!
 Zhangsan apparently/allegedly how / so / this rich SFP
 ‘How very rich Zhangsan {apparently/allegedly} is!’
- b. *張三 {大概 / 一定} {多(麼) / 好 / 這麼} 有錢 啊!
 *Zhāngsān {dàgài / yídìng} {duō(me) / hǎo / zhème} yǒuqián a!
 Zhangsan probably/must how / so / this rich SFP
 ‘How very rich Zhangsan {may/must} be!’

Her revision proves useful, as can be seen in a minute detail.

4. Exclamatives In Tsou

In light of Zanuttini and Portner’s criteria, we can distinguish two types of true exclamatives in Tsou: Simple exclamatives (Type I) and complex/special exclamatives (Type II). We shall discuss these two types in the first two subsections. In the third subsection, we would rule out fake exclamatives in Tsou.

4.1 Type I: Simple Exclamatives

In this type, exclamatives are parallel to declaratives in their morpho-syntax, with no marker specific to exclamatives. They may appear either in a reduced form as a noun phrase, as in (9a), or in a full sentence, as in (9b).

(9) Exclamatives with nominal syntax

- a. *kuci cou!*
 bad.REL person
 ‘A bad guy!’
- b. *mi-su kuci cou!*
 RL-2S.ABS bad.REL person
 ‘How very bad you are!’

On the exclamative reading, the utterance cannot pattern with a non-factive modal. Compare:

(10) Unable to pattern with a non-factive modal

**mais'a mi-su kuci couu!*
look.like RL-2S.ABS bad.REL person
Lit. ‘*It looks like how very bad you are!’

A simple exclamative may be represented by a stative verb, as in (11).

(11) Exclamatives with declarative syntax

'oa! 'iama mo na'no totokcx 'e meipeipi!
wow turn.out RL very thick ABS fog
‘Wow! How very heavy the fog is!’

The example in (11) is a true exclamative, as it passes the three tests mentioned above. First, it is factive, as it does not pattern with a non-factive modal.

(12) Factivity

**mais'a 'iama mo na'no totokcx 'e meipeipi!*
look.like turn.out RL very thick ABS fog
Lit. ‘*It looks like how very heavy the fog is!’

Second, it induces a scalar implicature, as it passes the test of extreme degree.

(13) Scalar implicature and extreme degree

'oa! 'iama mo na'no totxkcx 'e meipeipi!
wow turn.out RL very thick ABS fog
upena ho mo o'te kuici totxkcx.
Though SUB RL NEG extremely thick
‘Wow! How very heavy the fog is! # though it is not extremely thick.’

Third, it distinguishes itself functionally from an interrogative or a declarative, as it passes the test of inability to occur either as a question or an answer.

(14) Unable to function as an answer

a. Q: *mo mainenu 'o 'a'a'ausna to ceonx ne'e?*
RL how ABS situation OBL road there
‘How is the road over there?’

- b. A: *mo totokcx 'e meipeipi tan'e*
 RL thick ABS fog here
 'The fog is heavy here.
- c. A: # 'oa! 'iama mo na'no totokcx 'e meipeipi tan'e!
 wow turn.out RL very thick ABS fog here
 '# Wow! How very heavy the fog is here!'

It is also worth noting that as in a Mandarin Chinese exclamative, it cannot be embedded under a matrix verb of any kind.

(15) Unembeddable

- **mi-'o yamci ho 'oa! 'iama mo na'no totokcx*
 RL-1SG.ABS be.surprised COMP wow turn.out RL very thick
'e meipeipi!
 ABS fog
 Lit. 'I am surprised how very heavy the fog is!'

4.2 Type II: Complex/Special Exclamatives

In type II, an exclamative is led by a special exclamative particle. There are three classes in this category.

4.2.1 Class I: *Echichi na maica*

In the Class I, an exclamative is led by a special exclamative particle *echichi*, indicating the speaker's deep regret over an adversity (16a) or a failed action ion (16b).

(16) Speaker's deep regrets

- a. *echichi na maica* *ci la-ta 'aoko tma'congo!*
 EXCL NA like.this OBL HAB-3SG all.the.time sick
 'How miserable she is for being sick all the time!'
- b. *echichi na maica* *ci hia 'oha fihnozomx!*
 EXCL NA like.this OBL NLMZ NEG follow.OBL.bird
 'What a pity for returning from hunting without getting any prey!'

Note that *echichi* patterns with a predicate of extent *maica*, followed either by an embedded clause or a nominalization headed by the syntactic nominalizer *hia*.

4.2.2 Class II: *Bx na maica*

In Class II, an exclamative is led by a special particle *bx* (*bxntxntxhx*), indicating the speaker's surprise/shock at an unusual situation.

(17) Speaker's surprise/shock

a. *bx na maica* *ci hia-si mikuzkuzo!*
 EXCL NA like.this OBL NMLZ-3SG/ERG look.bad

'What a miserable look she has!'

b. *bx na maica* *ci hia fozu ta chumu!*
 EXCL NA like.this OBL NMLZ severe ERG water

'How severe the flooding water is!'

In the meantime, it should be pointed out that the exclamative phrase *bx na maica* can also lead a clause of likelihood.

(19) Clausal exclamative complement

'*ae'e, bx na maica ci mais'a te mxchx!*
 INTJ EXCL NA like.this OBL look.like IRR rain

'Jesus, how incredible it is such that it looks like going to rain!'

4.2.3 Class III: *Maenecumo*

In Class III, an exclamative is led by a special exclamative particle *tmaenecumo*, indicating the speaker's lament/sympathy on a surprising loss/adversity.

(20) Speaker's lament/sympathy

a. *maenecumo* *mi-cu momekvo'x 'e fafeifeiha ta tapangx!*
 EXCL RL-COS pass.away ABS leader OBL Tapangx

'What a great loss for Tapangx leader's passing away!'

b. *maenecumo* *ci acxhx meimio ne maaya 'o cmoehu tonsoha maitan'e!*
 EXCL OBL all sweep.through OBL Japan ABS typhoon year today

'What an adversity for all of the typhoons hitting Japan this year!'

Unlike the first two classes, there is no nominalization attested in this class.

4.2.4 True Exclamatives?

Are complex/special exclamatives true exclamatives? Let's check them against the three aforementioned criteria.

(21) Factivity

**mais'a* *bx* *na* *maica* *ci* *hia* *fozu* *ta* *chumu!*
 look.like EXCL NA like.this OBL NMLZ severe ERG water
 Lit. 'It looks like how severe the flooding water is!'

(22) Scalar implicature

bx *na* *maica* *ci* *hia* *fozu* *ta* *chumu!*
 EXCL NA like.this OBL NMLZ severe ERG water
upena ho mo o'te kuici fozu.
 though SUB RLNEG extremely severe
 'How severe the flooding water is! # though it is not extremely severe.'

(23) Inability to function as an answer

- a. Q: *mo* *mainenu* *'e* *'a'a'ausna* *ta* *chumu?*
 RL how ABS situation OBL water
 'How is the flooding?'
- b. A: *mo* *fozu* *'e* *chumu*
 RL severe ABS water
 'The flooding water is severe.'
- c. A: #bx *na* *maica* *ci* *hia* *fozu* *ta* *chumu!*
 EXCL NA like.this OBL NMLZ severe ERG water
 '# How severe the flooding water is!'

Accordingly, they are true exclamatives.

Furthermore, they are unable to occur as a clausal complement, just like Mandarin Chinese exclamatives:

(24) Unembeddible

**mi-'o* *yamci* *ho* *bx* *na* *maica* *ci* *hia* *fozu*
 RL-1SG.ABS be.surprised COMP EXCL NA like.this OBL NMLZ severe
ta *chumu!*
 ERG water
 Lit. 'I am surprised how severe the flooding water is!'

4.2.5 Syntactic Structures

The syntactic structures of complex/special exclamatives can be schematized as follows, illustrated by those exclamatives headed by *bx*:

(25) Syntactic structure of complex/special exclamatives

[[_{ExcIP} *bx na maica*] *ci* [_{NP/CP}]]]

A few notes are in order for this syntactic structure. First, the exclamative phrase is a fixed expression. A reasonable analysis of the exclamative phrase is to treat it as parallel to that of a reason interrogative. Compare:

(26) Reason interrogative

mainci maica?
 [*mainnu ci maica?*]
 how COMP like.this
 ‘Why is it so?’

In this analysis, the exclamative particle *bx* would be placed in the Spec, the morpheme that looks like a non-experiential case marker *na* in the head, and the extent predicate *maica* in the complement verb phrase, as illustrated below:

(27) Syntactic structure of exclamative phrase

[[_{ExcIP} *bx* [_{Excl} *na*] _{vP} *maica*]]]

Meanwhile, the chunk following the exclamative phrase might occur as an adjunct-like complement to the matrix exclamative phrase, in much the same manner as the phrase occurring right after a manner interrogative. Compare:

(28) Complement to a reason interrogative

mo mainenu ci mi-ko 'aoko sx'sx'no maitan'e?
 RL how OBL RL-2SG.ABS all.the.time be.angry today
 ‘Why are you so grumpy today?’

We treat the phrase introduced by *ci* as a complement on both semantic and syntactic grounds. Semantically, the *ci*-phrase specifies the content of the exclamation. Syntactically, unlike an adjunct, the *ci*-phrase is required to occur right after the matrix

exclamative phrase—its fronting yields ungrammaticality. Compare:

(29) Complement test: Ineligible for fronting

- a. **ci* *hia* *fozu ta chumu* *bx* *na maica !*
 OBL NMLZ severe ERG water EXCL NA like.this
- b. **ci* *mais'a te mxchx* *'ae'e, bx na maica !*
 OBL look.like IRR rain INTJ EXCL NA like.this

Note also that the *ci*-phrase may contain a nominalized clause headed by the syntactic nominalizer *hia*. It remains to be worked out about the syntactic status of *hia*. For the time being, we treat it as a nominalized transitive verb, taking an intransitive verb phrase as its complement, just like a transitive locative/instrumental verb (Lin 2015, Chang 2017).

4.3 Fake Exclamatives

4.3.1 Reason Interrogative *Mainci*

One may take sentences headed by *mainci* ‘why’ as exclamatives.

(30) Reason interrogative

- mainci* *na'no nongonongo*
 why very silly
 ‘How silly you are!’

A closer inspection indicates that they are not genuine exclamatives. Compare:

(31) Fail in the inability test

- Q: *mainci* *na'no nongonongo?*
 why very silly
 ‘Why is he so silly?’
- A: *'a moso'so la o'te tmopsx*
 AFF RL HAB NEG study
 ‘Because he didn’t go to school.’

4.3.2 Mirative *Ma*

In a similar vein, sentences introduced by a mirative particle *ma* may be mistaken as an exclamative and *ma* may be analyzed as an exclamative marker.

(32) Mirative as exclamation?

ma mi=cu kuzo 'e ceonx

MIR RL=COS bad ABS road

'I surprisingly realized that the road has collapsed.'

However, there is evidence that *ma* cannot be treated as an exclamation marker. Consider:

(33) Fail in the inability test

ma tois'a cuma co i-si hioa ta mo

MIR on.earth what ABS RL.TR-3SG.ERG work.TR OBL RL

su-achi ta tataka ta mi=cu fexngna

sit-self OBL pavilion OBL RL=COS midnight

'What on earth is he doing sitting in the pavilion at midnight?'

5. A Cross-linguistic Comparison

5.1 Approaches To Exclamatives

Zanuttini and Portner (2003) analyze exclamatives as *wh*-based on the basis of European languages like English (34) and French (35). For example:

(34) Exclamatives as *wh*-based (Zanuttini & Portner 2003: 41)

a. *What a nice guy he is!*

b. *How very tall she is!*

(35) Exclamatives as *wh*-based (Zanuttini & Portner 2003: 46; Obenauer 1994: 364)

a. *Quelle chance tu as eue!*

what luck you have had

'What luck you've had!'

b. **Quelle chance as-tu eue!*

what luck have-you had

'What luck have you had?'

In their analysis, exclamative *wh*-phrases function as operators in the same manner as interrogative *wh*-phrases, serving as the basis for the exclamative widening:

(36) *Wh*-phrases as operators (Zanuttini & Portner 2003: 40)

Exclamatives widen the domain of quantification for the *WH* operator, which gives rise to the set of alternative propositions denoted by the sentence.

Zanuttini & Portner’s *wh*-operator analysis faces the following questions:

- (i) What are the “*wh*” operators in languages that do not manifest *wh*-phrases/*wh*-movement in exclamatives?
- (ii) What is the value of *wh*-operators in exclamatives?
- (iii) How is focus accommodated in exclamatives? (cf. Lipták 2006, Gutiérrez-Rexach 2008, Baden & Cheng 2015, Shu 2018)

(37) Exclamatives as scalar focus

- a. 他比 郭台銘 還 有錢, #雖然 他 不 是 很 有錢。
Tā bǐ Guō Tái-míng hái yǒuqián, #suīrán tā bú shì hěn yǒuqián.
he rather Terry Guo more rich although he not FOC very rich
‘He is much richer than Terry Guo, #although he is not very rich.’
- b. 他好 有錢 喔! #雖然 他 不 是 很 有錢。
Tā hǎo yǒuqián o! #Suīrán tā bú shì hěn yǒuqián.
he very rich SFP although he not FOC very rich
‘How rich he is!—#although he is not very rich.’

There is also grammatical evidence in favor of the focus analysis of exclamatives. In addition to the lack of *wh*-phrases, Mandarin Chinese exclamatives may optionally bear a focus marker *shì* (是). For instance:

(38) Grammatical evidence for the focus analysis

- a. 你 真 (是) 厲害 啊!
Nǐ zhēn (shì) lìhài a
you really FOC great SFP
‘How great you are!’
- b. 辦公室 的 歌聲 (真 的 是) 好 歡樂 啊!
Bàngōngshì de gēshēng (zhēn de shì) hǎo huānlè a!
office DE singing.voice true DE FOC very joyous SFP
‘How (truly) joyous the singing voice in the office is!’ (WWW, <https://reurl.cc/yXpqD>)

- c. 我 (真的 是) 很 糟糕 耶!
 Wǒ (zhēn de shì) hěn zāogāo (y)e!
 I true DE FOC very bad SFP
 ‘How (truly) bad I am!’ (WWW, <https://reurl.cc/bx0jd>)
- d. 誕生 (原來 是) 這麼 美 啊!
 Dànshēng (yuánlái shì) zhème měi a!
 birth as.it.turn.out FOC this beautiful SFP
 ‘How good it is to have a baby(, as it turns out)!’ (WWW, <https://reurl.cc/yXz86>)
- e. (原來) 雞湯 跟 炒飯 (是) 那麼 簡單 啊!
 (Yuánlái) jītāng gēn chǎofàn (shì) nàme jiǎndān a!
 as.it.turn.out chicken.soup and fried.rice FOC that easy SFP
 ‘How easy it is to make chicken soup and fried rice(, as it turns out)!’ (WWW, <https://reurl.cc/87Q17>)
- f. 擁抱 痛楚 (才 是) 多麼 瀟灑 啊!
 Yǒngbào tòngchǔ cái shì duōme xiāosǎ a!
 embrace pain CAI FOC how cool SFP
 ‘How cool it is to embrace pain!’ (WWW, <https://reurl.cc/kvmLL>)
- g. 范冰冰 (是) 真 美 啊!
 Fàn Bīng-Bīng (shì) zhēn měi a!
 Bingbing Fan FOC really beautiful SFP
 ‘How beautiful Bingbing Fan is!’ (WWW, <https://reurl.cc/X95We>)

In Tsou, exclamatives appear to be in scalar focus. For example:

(39) Exclamatives in scalar focus

bx na maica ci hia fozu ta chumu!
 EXCL NA like.this OBL NMLZ severe ERG water
 # *'at'inghi o'a mo na'no fozu*
 but NEG RL very severe
 ‘How severe the flooding water is! # But it is not very severe.’

5.2 Where Is Sentential Force Situated: D or C?

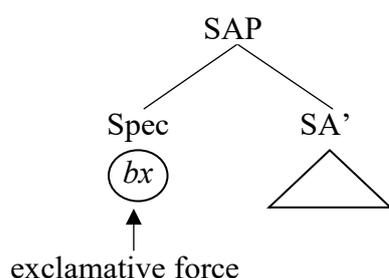
Zanuttini and Portner (2003) claim that exclamative force is not syntactically realized. However, Potsdam (2011) argues that exclamative force is exclusively situated in the D position in Malagasy, given that exclamatives are all nominalized in that language. Consider:

(40) Exclamative force in the D position in Malagasy (Potsdam 2011: 665-666)

izany a-haingan' ny f-amakia-ny boky!
 DEM NMLZ-quick the NMLZ-read-3SG book
 'The quickness of her book-reading!'

In contrast, exclamative force seems to be present in the C domain in Tsou, witness, in particular, the presence of a special exclamative particle in the Spec of a higher CP (more specifically, in Spec of Speech Act Phrase (SAP)), as shown in (41).

(41) Exclamative force in the C position in Tsou



This explains why exclamatives are incompatible with the declarative affirmative particle 'a in Tsou. Compare:

(42) Exclamatives in scalar focus

*'a bx na maica ci hia fozu ta chumu!
 AFF EXCL NA like.this OBL NMLZ severe ERG water

6. Concluding Remarks

We have shown that Tsou exclamatives cannot be divided into simple and complex types. In Tsou, complex exclamatives manifest a special exclamative particle, which is arguably situated in the Spec of SAP. This poses a theoretical challenge to Zanuttini & Portner's (2003) claim. In addition, this contrasts with what Potsdam (2011) has made based on Malagasy. Moreover, this accounts for why exclamatives cannot fall under the complement of a factive predicate in Tsou. Given its maximal clausal projection, an SAP is expected to display the Main Clause Phenomenon (MCP). Typologically, Tsou behaves more like Chinese than English in not using *wh*-phrases in its exclamatives.

As mentioned in the very beginning of this article, it is generally held that the propositional content is required to be factive in an exclamative. Nevertheless, a non-factive proposition might be attested in Tsou, as already exemplified in (19), repeated below as (43).

(43) Non-factive exclamative?

'ae'e, bx na maica ci mais'a te mxchx!

INTJ EXCL NA like.this OBL look.like IRR rain

'Jesus, how incredible it would be such that it looks like going to rain!'

Likewise, an English exclamative may contain a non-factive conditional, as in (44).

(44) ***What a humiliation** it would be to Putin if he woke up on Monday and Snowden was in McLean, Virginia.* (Corpus of Contemporary American English)

It seems that the factivity restriction should be subject to modification. We believe that a slight modification of the factivity restriction may be good enough. Note that the exclamatives in (43)-(44) can be uttered only if the propositions associated with them are taken to be factive by the speaker. Accordingly, we may keep the factivity restriction but revise it as "An exclamative proposition must be taken to be factive by the speaker". By doing so, we can accommodate not only exclamatives in the real world but also those in the possible world.

Abbreviations

ABS	absolute	FOC	focus
AFF	affirmative	GEN	genitive
ASR	assuring	HAB	habitual aspect
AV	agent voice	IMP	imperative
CAUS	causative	INTF	intensifier
COMP	complementizer	INTR	intransitive
CONJ	conjunction	IRR	irrealis
COS	change of state	LA	locative applicative
CP	complementizer phrase	Lnk	linker
DEM	determiner	NA	non-affirmative
DT	downtoner	MIR	mirative
ERG	ergative	NEG	negative
EVI	evidential	Nom	nominative
EXIS	existential	OBL	oblique

Part	particle	Q	question
Past	past tense	REL	relativizer
Perf	perfective	RL	realis
PF	perfect marker	S	singular
PLN	place name	SFP	sentence-final particle
PN	personal name	TOP	topic
POSS	possessive	TR	transitive

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